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ABSTRACT

The history of the education of Montreal's Greek population is traced in this report, which is partly intended to act as a stimulus for future planning and development. Six chapters contain, respectively: (1) a history of Greek day education in and around Montreal, from its origin in 1910 with the founding of the "Plato" school to its securing of the financial support of the Quebec government in the 1970s; (2) a discussion of the outcomes of Greek day schooling (which are said to be generally excellent); (3) a brief note on the educational advantages of bilingualism and cultural maintenance programs; (4) an argument favoring the establishment of a (trilingual) Greek day high school; (5) the results of a survey of 118 Greek-origin individuals on the establishment of such a school to serve Montreal's Greek community; and (6) a summary of major conclusions. The report concludes with a selected bibliography of literature on Canada's Greeks. (KH)

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GREEK DAY EDUCATION IN AND AROUND MONTREAL:

THE CASE FOR A GREEK TRILINGUAL HIGH SCHOOL

Leonidas C. Bombas

HELLENIC
PSYCHOLOGICAL & PEDAGOGICAL INSTITUTE
OF MONTREAL

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INTRODUCTION

This is a synoptic report on the Greek day schooling arrangements in and around Montreal which, in one form or another, dates back to 1910. In addition, this report presents itself as an attempt not only to trace the long historical path of Greek day schooling in Montreal but also as a kind of "contemporary stimulus" for future planning and developments. In other words, the extension of day trilingual education beyond the primary level is considered within the framework of the experiences of the past and the reality of the present.

A report of this kind does not constitute in itself an exhaustive and all-encompassing treatise of the subject of Greek trilingual education in Montreal. It is, however, the very first discussion which attempts to link the past, the present, and the future of Greek day schools by considering the attitudes of the Greek community at large and the overall literature on bilingualism and bilingual education as well. Thus, this report may be seen as a provocative - however limited in scope - stimulus for reflection and future planning and action. So much so far as the Greek origin population in Quebec is concerned, and to a large degree, for the Quebec government and the Quebec society as a whole.

Over the past five years the Hellenic Community of Montreal along with virtually all Greek parents whose children have attended (attend) "Socrate" school have been trying to articulate the need for a trilingual high school in the community at large. This pan-community drive for a Greek day **gymnasio** (high school) has been intensified over the last 12-18 months with the parallel demands of the **Koinotita** of Laval and "Demosthene" parents.

Though independently of each other, the **Koinotita** of Montreal and the **Koinotita** of Laval have formally asked the Quebec government to fund the establishment/operation of day high schools - one in Montreal and one in Laval respectively. The government has yet to decide on whether or not to "give in" to the demands for extending the "Socrate" and/or the "Demosthene" schooling.

It is in that context that this report ought to be considered and its arguments be analyzed. The results of a small-scale survey reported here are also to be examined within the overall framework of a "given reality" - that is, the existence of "Socrate" and "Demosthene" schools in the community at large - which should not be seen as "carved in stone" institutional arrangements.

On the other hand, the Quebec government would have to listen attentively to all legitimate demands of the Greek origin Quebecers whose multifaceted contributions to the Quebec society are beyond any doubt. The Quebec government would also have to "put its money where its mouth is" when it comes to establishing trilingual, community oriented high schools offering education of excellent quality. If the provincial government truly believes in cultural democracy and in treating all its citizens on an equal footing the "Greek case" for a day trilingual school in the 1980's ought to be very seriously considered.

Leonidas C. Bombas
January 1985

I. GREEK DAY EDUCATION IN AND AROUND MONTREAL

Any attempt to trace the rather long history of day schooling arrangements within the Greek community of Montreal is an exercise worthwhile in itself. Not only is research on this important issue virtually non-existent, not only is pertinent documentation meager and, if any, scattered in places and hands non-accessible to the interested, but, more so, because Greek day schooling in and around Montreal comprises at least "one-half" of the core Greek community. That is, if someone is called upon to present an overall picture of the Greek community in Montreal he/she is bound, both historically and in order of significance, to make direct and lengthy references to the Greek Orthodox Church and the Greek Day School (look for example, the works of P. Chimbos, 1980; E. Gavaki, 1984; I. Bombas, 1983; T. Ioannou, 1983; S. Constantinides, 1983).

The "roots" of the Greek day school in Montreal may be traced back to the early years of the twentieth century when the total number of Greeks in Canada as a whole was not more than, perhaps, 3,000 individuals. As the historical record shows, it took only a few years of "deliberations" among the early Greeks in Montreal to establish their very first community organization. The first such **Koinotita** (Greek-Orthodox Community of Montreal) was established in Montreal in the year 1907.* Three years later (1910) the first Greek Orthodox church **"Evaggelismos"** opened its doors. Within the same year (1910) the very first Greek day school was also established in Montreal to serve the immediate educational and cultural needs of Greek youngsters. The name of

*Some sources have argued that it was in the year 1906.

the school was an elloquently symbolic name, not only for "Greekness" in the new land, but indicative also of wisdom and prudence: **"Plato"**.

By a mere, one may call it diabolic, coincidence the first director-teacher of the school was a certified teacher from Corinthos, Greece whose name was Ioannis Didaskalou (**Didaskalos** in Greek means the teacher). The school during its first years of operation had in fact very few pupils in its five grades: 25 children in all during the first year and a total of 35 during the second. Greek children were taught in Greek - following, more or less, the school curriculum of public schools in Greece - and in English, following to a large extend the curricula of Montreal's Protestant schools. It seems rather safe to argue that "Plato" throughout its operation (1910-1932) offered courses in grades one, two, three, four, and five preparing thus its Greek origin clientele for the anglophone schools. In fact, virtually all "Plato"'s graduates were channeled into the Protestant (anglophone) public schools in their neighborhoods (P. Chimbos, 1980). There is some documentation, however, suggesting that most of the Greek children starting classes at "Plato" (and at "Socrates" later, well up to the 1950's) stayed with the school for one or two years and then entered public schooling to continue their education.

According to some evidence it appears that, at least for a year or two, the vast majority of Greek children in Montreal were attending the Greek day school. Thus, J. Metrakos et al (1970) have remarked that: "In a book published in 1921 by the late Mr. Papamanolis, a group picture of all the Greek students of the time is included. One can count approximately 90 "little faces". It is safe to say that at that time the total number of eligible children to attend the elementary school (Grades I to V) was

probably no more than a hundred; the number attending the Greek day school therefore, represented approximately 90% of the total eligible to do so" (p.42).

It was in 1925 that the then existing "Greek collectivity" in Montreal split into "two halves" and two opposing camps along political lines were formed. The political rivalry had its principal basis on Greek politics and the developments in the Greek political arena with the Venizelists (liberals) and the Royalists (conservatives) accusing and insulting each other. At any rate, this split led to the establishment of a second Greek day school in Montreal (1925) named, as expected, after the great philosopher of ancient Greece, **SOCRATES.** One year later (1926) the second **Koinotita** was officially established having its own Greek Orthodox church ("Agia Triada") and its own day school ("Socrates"). The full name of this **Koinotita** was "Hellenic Canadian Community of the Island of Montreal" - known today as the "Hellenic Community of Montreal" - whereas the full name of the second school was "Socrates Anglo-Greek School Inc." - known today as "l'Ecole Socrate".

Although we know almost nothing of that period, it seems that both schools continued their own separate functioning within the Greek population of Montreal amidst bitter political fighting and resentment. It took seven years and some sort of political reconciliation in Greece before the two opposing community groups decided to "give hands" in a, more or less, peaceful coexistence. In 1932 the two **Koinotites** merged along with the two schools forming thus one common **Koinotita** and one day school ("Socrates"). No doubt, the economic hardships of the times seem to have played their role in this "unification gesture". Thus, among others, Constantinides (1983) notes that: "La réunification

était évidemment liée à l'évolution de la situation politique en Grèce. Mais aussi à la crise économique de cette époque qui ne permettait pas à une petite communauté de se payer le luxe des deux églises et deux écoles" (p.69).

Unfortunately, as is the case with the Greek community as a whole, the "traces" of the day school seem to have been lost well up to the early 1950's. There has been some anecdotal and informal evidence concerning the overall development of the school throughout the difficult years of the economic depression and W.W. II. However, nothing concrete can be said except, perhaps, that the number of Greek children attending "Socrates" was relatively small. It is also unfortunate, if not deplorable and discriminatory the very fact that this school - as has been the case with similar educational arrangements of other ethnic communities (Laferriere, 1983) - had never found a place in the official records of the local School Boards and/or Commissions.

As expected, the mere population increase of Greeks in Montreal during the 1950's and the 1960's along with all social, cultural and political developments in the Quebec society at large, were bound to play a decisive role on both the structure and the function of "Socrates" school. New demands, new priorities, new experiences, even new realities were in the making for all Quebecers, Greeks in Montreal included. Education was in the forefront of all reform movements of the so-called Quiet Revolution of the 1960's: "Of all changing conditions in Quebec in the 1960's, none epitomized the Quiet Revolution more than the school reform. Educational changes thought unthinkable a decade earlier were carried out with little respect for tradition" (Magnuson, 1980: 105).

The Greek day school "Socrates" which for a number of

reasons had been kept virtually in the "closet" well up to the 1960's, was also an educational institution destined to participate in the making of a new social reality. In fact, one may argue that the changes and the overall transformation of the Greek day school "Socrates" during the early 1970's reflected the wider societal climate of the times and the, more or less, "natural evolution of things". J. Metrakos et al (1970) inform us that the school and its most effective re-organization had been in the minds of community leaders as far back as 1956 since it did present a problematic situation" in the Greek community of Montreal. The number of Greek children attending the school was on the rise in absolute numbers from year to year, reaching a total of 630 pupils (1969-1970) but that figure represented only 12.1 % of all Greek children eligible (5,195). More so, the school presented problems at both the financial and the academic level.

For a good number of years "Socrates" school was housed in the basement of "Agia Triada" church at the corner of Sherbrooke Street and St. Lawrence Blvd. Certainly, one can hardly argue that this was an ideal physical setting for housing and educating youngsters. Nonetheless, with the erection of a new Greek-Orthodox church in 1962 (Agios Georgios) under the aegis of the **Koinotita**, a branch of "Socrates" was established in the basement of this new church (2455 Cote St. Catherine Road). A few years later (1968) one more Greek-Orthodox church, "Koimissis tis Theotokou", was established in the Park Extension area (St. Roch and Bloomfield) and, again, its basement was used to house yet another "Socrates" branch.

There are people in the community today who have attended "Socrates" during those years and who are ready to admit the overall positive impact of the school despite the fact that school

classrooms, for example, were "not that good".

It was in the year 1970 that the first school building per se was bought by the **Koinotita** to house more than half of the "Socrates" pupils. The building was located at 275 Houde Street (Ville St. Laurent) and from then on the Greek day school serving the entire Greek community in and around Montreal seemed to head in new directions. The "name of the school system changed from Anglo-Greek school to "Socrates Elementary School", operating in two different locations, at 275 Houde Street, Ville St. Laurent, and at 2455 Cote St. Catherine Road, Montreal". During that school year, 300 of the "Socrates" pupils were at the Houde branch and another 200 at the basement of "Agios Georgios" (Hlentzos, 1974).

On July 31, 1970 the **Interim Report** of the Commission for Community Development of the Hellenic Community of the Island of Montreal was made public. Among other aspects of the Community this document discussed also the past, the present and the future of the Greek day school. It is, in fact, this very document that has so far presented the most comprehensive analysis of the school throughout its existence. And it was the public voice of these Commissioners (J. Metrakos, D. Manolakos, D. Hadjis) that stirred the community waters regarding future prospects of "Socrates". In short, the Report based on an elaborate analysis of the past and the present parameters of the school, the Greek community as a whole, and the Quebec society in the 1970's, not only challenged the then existing structure/function of the school but it went further to suggest concrete ways of complete re-organization.

Although the bulk of the Report's research concerning the re-organization of "Socrates" was carried out within the framework

of the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal (the possibility, that is, of establishing a truly trilingual school - Greek, English, French - subsidized by the Quebec government through association with the Board), no one may doubt the impact that this Report had on the actual re-organization of "Socrates", one year later.

Well up to the 1970's, Greek children attending "Socrates" were taugnt, principially, in Greek and in English. All expenses and operational costs of the school were undertaken by the parents themselves and the Hellenic Community of Montreal without any financial - some may add, moral - assistance from anywhere else. No doubt, budgetary restrictions and hardships have always made their presence felt in any educational arrangement, the Greek day school in Montreal included. The beginning of the 1970's, then, with all known transformations of the Quebec society underway, and with the "awakening" of the Greek community itself to the "call of the times", were destined to bring about drastic and profound changes to the half-century old community institution called "Socrates Elementary School".

In November of 1971 the Hellenic Canadian Community of the Island of Montreal submitted a "Memoire" to the Quebec Ministry of Education **"Pour faciliter l'intégration de l'enfant grec dans la communauté québécoise"**. In short, this Memoire consisted of: a synoptic history of the Greek population in and around Montreal; the Hellenic-Canadian Community organization in Montreal; and the various problems faced by Greeks in this new land. The Memoire went further in discussing the immediate and viable need to integrate the Greek youth into the host society while maintaining ethnic identity and attachments. Furthermore, the overall educational situation of the Greek community in

Montreal was described in considerable detail whereas, of course, particular references were made to the Greek day education in Montreal. In concluding, the Memoire looked at the future of all Greek children in Montreal and the future of the "Socrates" school by asking the Quebec government to finance a trilingual day school in Montreal (French-Greek-English), the very first of its kind.

In this context, it is of pertinence to quote the entire section of the "Conclusion" part of the Memoire which explains the two fundamental objectives of the Greek day school. Objectives which have, in fact, become even more relevant in the 1980's and which will be considered at length in subsequent sections of this present analysis.

> En terminant ce mémoire, la Communauté Hellénique désire rappeler le double objectif de l'école grecque:
>
> a) donner aux enfants grecs la possibilité d'apprendre, dans leur langue maternelle, l'histoire, les traditions et la religion de leur origine ethnique, et par conséquent de créer et de maintenir entre les Grecs les liens d'une ethnie qui a foi au Québec et croit y avoir place;
>
> b) donner aux enfants grecs la possibilité d'apprendre les langues du pays, en commençant par le français.
>
> La première partie de cet objetif constitue la mission continue de l'école grecque. Mais pour lui permettre de satisfaire à la plénitude des besoins modernes en ce qui touche la deuxième partie, elle devra effectuer à son école une reorganisation qui suppose la mise en place d'un équipement adapté aux exigences.
>
> C'est la raison pour laquelle elle réclame l'aide du Ministère de l'Education, persuadée que cette aide, par les services qu'elle permettra à l'école de rendre, apportera au Quebec et a sa mosaique ethnique la

contribution renouvelée, plus enrichissante que jamais, de la civilisation hellénique (pp.20-21).

In the school year 1971-1972 "Socrates" had secured the financial support of the Quebec government by being declared an institution of "public interest" and being thus eligible for public funding under the Private Education Act of 1968 (a subsidy of up to 80 % of the school's operational expenses according to a scale based on public schools in the Province). The signing of a special agreement between the Hellenic-Canadian Community of the Island of Montreal and the Quebec government meant that "Socrates" was being transformed into a trilingual "model" school with the financial support of the Quebec Ministry of Education. It meant also that, "...the curriculum of the Socrates Elementary School changes from an English to a French program with French, Greek and English instruction." (Hellenic Community of Montreal, 1981). As explained in a short report by M. Hlentzos (1974), the entire transition of "Socrates" from a predominantly Greek and English school to a predominantly French program was carried out with the utmost care. For obvious pedagogical and administrative reasons this transition was implemented in successive stages without any significant shortcomings. In the school year 1973-1974 "Socrates" school was operating at two different locations, grades one to five, with French instruction taking, year after year, the "upper hand" in the school's program.

It would be, however, inaccurate and misleading not to mention the very fact that a number of individuals within the Greek community of Montreal were critical and outright rejective of this "francophone transformation" of the school. In fact, one may find numerous articles and commentaries in the community press criticizing the agreement with the Quebec

government and ridiculing the administration of the **Koinotita** at the time. Some people in the community were even more harsh in their public outcry and direct references were made to the effect that the **Koinotita** leadership had "sold out" the traditionally Greek school to the "non-Greeks in the province".

To that effect, a relatively recent statement of a former President of the **Koinotita** stands as an eloquent illustration of the controversy prevailing in the early 1970's concerning the transformation of "Socrates" to a publicly funded institution:

> A decade has gone by since a number of interested parents and the **Koinotita** administration attempted to re-organize our Greek schools. These people believed and adopted a new, more viable outlook and set of policies for the Greek education in our community. I still recall the reaction and the opposition on the part of some individuals from our own community, people who were conservative and suspicious about such changes in the program of our day school. Those were changes, however, that reflected the existing reality of the time in our new homeland (Quebec) (School Album, 1983).

On the other hand, the Quebec government and its educational advisers were "giving in" to the subsidy demands with the understanding (explicit or implicit) that "Socrates" was to be a truly "educational experiment" carefully administered, observed, and evaluated in due time. Questions un-answered, scepticism, and ambivalence were the order of the day concerning bilingual education and programs all around the globe. The pioneer project in Quebec with a fully trilingual school in full operation within an ethnic community eager, more or less, to support it was a real challenge. A challenge for all parties involved, directly and/or indirectly: the **Koinotita**; the Greek community in Montreal; the children in "Socrates" and their parents; the administration and the

teachers of the school; the Quebec Ministry of Education and the Quebec government; the ever transforming Quebec society as a whole; and, even, the widely publicized and cherished ideology of cultural pluralism of the 20th century.

In 1978, **Koinotita** comes to an agreement with the Commission des Ecoles Catholiques de Montréal according to which "Socrates" becomes an associate school with the Commission which in turn, increases the funding (the so-called, 100 % formula) of the school. At the same time the name of the school is changed to "Ecole Primaire Socrate" continuing its French, Greek, and English instruction. As described in one of the government documents, "If the preceding conditions are met and the school concludes an agreement with a French-language school board, the school in question may benefit from 100 % financing for the educational activities included in the official timetable of the **Ministère de l'Education.** All supplementary activities must be financed by the community" (Quebec government, 1979: 89).

From then on, the number of Greek origin children attending "l'Ecole Socrate" has been on the increase. As of today, the school operates under the aegis of the Hellenic Community of Montreal (**Koinotita** Montreal) in three different, **Koinotita** owned school buildings. For the school year 1984-1985 "Socrate" has a grand total of 1394 pupils, from kindergarten to grade six inclusive.

"Socrate I" is housed at the school building located in Ville St. Laurent (275 Houde Street) having a total number of 194 pupils. "Socrate II" is housed at the school building of the Hellenic Community Centre in Montreal (5757 Wilderton Avenue) having a total number of 646 pupils, and "Socrate III" at the newly bought (1982) school building located in the West Island

Region (II, IIème rue, Roxboro) having 554 pupils in all grades. In addition, the Roxboro branch of the school houses 22 Greek origin children at the pre-kindergarten level.

Administratively the school is under the supervision of a general director for the entire institution. In addition, in each branch or local there is a director or "teacher responsible" carrying out all administrative duties. The grand total teaching personnel of "Socrate" for the current academic year stands as follows:

French teachers	:	53
Greek teachers	:	16
English teachers	:	7
Kindergarten	:	12
Pre-kindergarten	:	2
Gym teacher	:	1
Dance teacher	:	1
Special teacher (Orthopedagogue)	:	1

In addition, one part time and four full time secretaries work at various posts in the school along with three caretakers (one in each school building) according to existing guidelines.

The school and the school administration accountable to the Board of Directors of the Hellenic Community of Montreal, which in turn is accountable to parents, to the General Assembly of the Community, and, to a large degree, to the Greek population in and around Montreal. One of the **Koinotita** elected Directors (Board of Directors) acts as the liaison between the school and the **Koinotita** administration.

At "Socrate" the school day lasts 1710 minutes which is approximately 28.5 hours per week. Percentagewise, the teaching according to each language taught is: 62 % in French, 26 % in Greek, and 12 % in English (approximations). For the current school year the number of pupils per grade are:

Kindergarten	:	240
Grade one	:	240
Grade two	:	221
Grade three	:	239
Grade four	:	189
Grade five	:	163
Grade six	:	102
Total	:	1394

So far, the overall discussion on Greek day education in Montreal has been, in fact, an account of the "Socrate" school. No doubt, this has been so due to the very fact that "Socrate" was the only day school in Quebec well up to the year 1982. Inevitably, any discussion concerning Greek day schooling in Montreal (in Quebec, for that matter) is bound to center, principally, around "l'Ecole Socrate". This being the case until 1982 when a new educational venture of the same kind was institutionalized in the neighboring Laval area.

In the school year 1982, the **Koinotita** of Laval (Greek-Orthodox Community of Laval established in the 1970's by the Greeks residing in the area) established its own day school. The name of the new trilingual school is the name of yet another ancient Greek (famous) person, DEMOSTHENES. "L'Ecole

Démosthène" is housed at 115 Alexandre, Pont Viau, Laval, has a total school population of 513 pupils in all six primary grades - kindergarten included - and a total teaching and administrative staff of 44 individuals. The school is under the aegis (and the administration) of **Koinotita** of Laval with a general director (principal) for the entire school.

"Démosthène" operates within the same kind of agreement as is the case with "l'Ecole Socrate" following, more rather than less the same curriculum and school activities. One should take notice of the fact that in the last year's public announcement of "Démosthène" calling up for registration, a computer program was also included in the curriculum (grades four, five and six). It should also be mentioned that the number of Greek children entering "Démosthène" each year since its establishment in 1982, is on the rise (approximately 100 pupils per year). The school started only as a four grade (one, two, three, four) institution having now developed into a full-fledged primary school with its own kindergarten.

This is, then, the overall picture as far as Greek day schooling in Montreal is concerned. The aforementioned historical and merely descriptive points, though quite lengthy at first glance, do no justice to this unique and ever flourishing phenomenon, namely the Greek day education in and around Montreal. It is, however, important to take very good notice of all aspects presented so far throughout this cursive discussion, since most of these aspects will be further elaborated later, when the case for day schooling at the secondary level is presented.

II. OUTCOMES OF THE GREEK DAY SCHOOLING

First of all, let us set the record straight from the outset of this section: Unfortunately, no empirical research has been conducted up to the present day aimed to investigate, unravel, and highlight the overall outcomes of the Greek day schooling in Montreal. No solid, scientifically sound evidence exists, so far, concerning the relative success or failure of this educational endeavor. And all this, despite the fact that Greek day schooling in Montreal, in one form or another, exists for three quarters of a century. More so, despite the fact that trilingual education is a uniquely Quebec phenomenon and the "case of the Greeks in Montreal" in the form of a trilingual school **subsidized by the State** has been in existence for almost fifteen years. In short, the elaborate research carried out by W. Lambert & F. Genesee with regard to the Jewish trilingual school in Montreal, stands as a remarkable exception to this "drought" of research on trilingual education.

Having said that, however, one should not be led to believe that there is absolutely nothing pertaining to the outcomes of schools like "Socrate" and "Démosthène". The matter of the fact is that there is "something here, something there" pointing to the overall positive impact of Greek trilingual schooling - though in a rather descriptive, anecdotal and un-systematic fashion. Personal testimonies, informal observation, sporadic testing, opinions of various school related individuals, and the overwhelming majority of both the Greek population in Montreal along with politicians of every political party (at every level) seem to fully agree on that: the so-called "educational experiment" of implementing and

supporting (morally and financially) trilingual education within the Greek community of Montreal, has been a real success. As a case in point let us review some of these arguments by attempting to incorporate these testimonies to the larger and highly systematic research evidence on bilingualism and bilingual education which have a long history worldwide.

In a recently compiled report by the Special Committee on Visible Minorities in Canadian Society (March 1984) one of the former presidents and a "Socrate" graduate (D.Manolakos, former president of hte Hellenic Community of Montreal) has emphatically argued in front of the Commissioners: "In fact, I think most people agree that a graduate of our Greek schools is probably better equipped for Canadian society than many individuals who are members of the two majority cultures" (p.113). Manolakos goes on noting that, whereas in 1971 only four out of a hundred Greek youth were going on to university, in 1983 a total of "84 % of the high school graduates in our system went on to university or college".

Back in 1937 the then director of "Socrate" school, Michalis Stavrides, argued that the graduates of the school faced no particular difficulties in public schools. In fact, some of them, were among the best achieving students. Here is, for example, a section of a letter sent to the principal of "Socrate" by a public school's principal:

> Answering your inquiry of November 11th, 1936, re. L. Vassiliou of grade seven in this school, I am pleased to be able to report to you that I find him a very satisfactory pupil in every way. His conduct is excellent, his personal habits are pleasing and he is making good progress in his class work.
> During the two months he was neither absent, nor late. His general conduct, promptness, fairness,

> cooperation received a rating of excellent. It is a pleasure to have him in this class..
> Yours truly, Thomas Saunders, Principal
> Lewis Evans School (in telephone directory, 1967-68: 158-59).

In a brief report on the progress of the "Socrate" and the successive implementation of the French program, M. Hlentzos (1974) has noted that the financial assistance provided to the school and the ensuing re-organization to become a truly trilingual school have been very successful. She points also that success characterized all three "sub-programs" of the school: the French instruction, the Greek instruction, and the English instruction. Parents, on the whole, are satisfied with the progress of the school and their children's education and continue to send their children to "Socrate" year after year, as the numbers per grade show.

In a public statement which appeared in the school's own annual Album, the Consular General of Greece in Montreal, P. Aggelakis expressed his support and deep conviction in success concerning "Socrate": "I feel deeply satisfied with the daily experience of all of us in Montreal that the school not only is attracting more and more pupils, not only that its quality in education becomes higher and higher and that its graduates achieve excellence in secondary schools, not only in course work but in addition for their conduct and their character...".

Equally encouraging and positive are the comments and evaluations regarding the more recent Greek day school in the Laval area. A Quebec politician, the MNA for Fabre district, Michel Leduc, among other remarks about "Démosthène", notes:

> Voilà une école qui, à mon sens, rèpond aux exigences d'une Québec moderne, à la fois

> respectueux de la culture des autres et ouvert à l'apport de cette culture autre à la sienne. Voilà pourquoi il faut applaudir à l'initiative de la communauté grecque de Laval qui a fait les démarches necessaires pour l'obtention de l'école...
> ...Des centaines d'enfants encadrés par une direction et par un personnel compétents, évoluent dans un environnement éducatif et pedagogique de qualité qui leur permet de s'intégrer harmonieusement à la communauté francophone du Québec, tout en conservant les racines, les traditions, la langue de leur culture d'origine dont le rayonnement est demeuré universel. (Ecole Démosthène, annual Album, 1984).

Educators and public administrators working in the field of education have also expressed praise and admiration for the positive contribution of Greek day schools in and around Montreal. The comments of Guy Lussier (directeur général, Réseau Scolaire, Chomedey de Laval) very elloquently illustrate the success of the Laval Greek school:

> L'oeuvre d'éducation accomplie à l'école Démosthène mérite d'être soulignée...
> L'excellence des services rendus est sans doute attribuable au dynamisme de la direction et à l'engagement du personnel de l'école. Cet excellence ne pourrait se manifester autant sans la participation des parents des élèves et de toute la communauté hellénique. (annual Album, 1984).

If one moves one step further and takes a close look at the outcomes of similar educational projects in Quebec and subsequently examines even for a while and superficially for the purpose of this present analysis the evidence on bilingual programmes, he will find the outcomes are much more positive than negative. The elaborate research conducted a few years ago by Lambert & Genesee regarding the educational outcomes of one

of the many Jewish day schools (trilingual, similar to a great extent to Greek schools) demonstrated the overall success of the program. In fact, there were instances that pupils from the Jewish school were quite ahead in achievement when compared with the so-called standards or norms for each school grade. More so, the Armenian day schooling experience in Montreal (also trilingual program) seems to be corraborating the aforementioned views on the overall success of trilingual education in Quebec society today.

In addition, references ought to be made - however brief - to the existing ideology on the Greek community as a whole concerning the existence, operation, and the outcomes of the Greek day schools in Quebec. It is important to draw the attention to the "ideological aspect" of trilingual education since, as Laferriere (1983) among others has argued, ideologies either reflect reality, or shape reality, or both.

The prevailing ideology among the members of the Greek community in and around Montreal about Greek day schooling and the trilingual program in general is that:

a) the child gets quality education;
b) the child becomes a trilingual person who can effectively function in Quebec, in Canada and all of North America, in Greece and the Greek community in the neighborhood;
c) the child acquires good conduct, respect for others and becomes a well-behaved individual/citizen;
d) the school arrangement and the school structure allows a large number of parents to participate

in the school life of their child and the institution per se;

e) the child is brought up in a trilingual setting becoming thus sensitive to other people's needs and respecting and accepting differences as a fact of life;

f) the child learns and practices the Greek language, religion, traditions, history, and feels proud of his ethnic origin without identity crises and emotional problems;

g) the Greek community as a whole and the Quebec/Canadian society at large are the great beneficiaries from the day schools as well. They "receive" the outcome of schools such as "Socrate" and "Démosthène", that is, trilingual individuals, socially and emotionally well-adjusted, well-educated, good members of small or large social groups, excellent citizens of the land with attachments and feelings of pride to hellenism.

Such is, in short, the prevailing ideology about Greek day schools in Montreal which, no doubt, carries practical consequences for the child, the parent, the community, the society at large.

III. A BRIEF NOTE ON: BILINGUALISM; CULTURAL MAINTENANCE PROGRAMMES

It is unfair, to say the least, to attempt a discussion on such important and wide in scope issues within the limited space of five or six paragraphs. The issues of bilingualism (trilingualism in our case under consideration), bilingual education, and educational arrangements for language and culture maintenance have not only world-wide history and implications, but they are also "emotional and touchy" issues. Nonetheless, we will venture a very synoptic account of the literature and the arguments put forward to the extent that such an account serves the purpose of this present discussion.

On the whole, the literature on bilingualism well up to the early 1960's has been presented as "favoring" the negative aspect of it. That is, most evidence on bilingualism before the 60's had stressed the negative consequences and the detrimental effects of bilingualism on the intellectual, emotional and psychological well-being of individuals. To all that, the educational shortcomings of bilingualism were added by many experts and non-experts in the fields of education, psychology and pedagogy.

With regard to the detrimental effects of bilingualism on intelligence test-scoring in particular, it seems that research from the 1920's on (Saer, 1923; Smith, 1923) has argued along the lines described by Lambert & Peal, 1972):

> The studies in this category may be arbitrarily divided into two subgroups. The first of these consists of those which found that monolingual groups performed better than bilingual on <u>both</u> verbal and non-verbal intelligence tests... The

> second subdivision of studies showing the unfavorable effect of bilingualism encompasses those which reported that monolinguals scored better than bilinguals on verbal tests, but the bilinguals scored better or as well as monolinguals on performance on non-verbal tests (pp.112-114).

(See, for example, Seidl, 1937; Pintner & Keller, 1922; Darcy, 1946; Altus, 1953; Johnson, 1953; Levinson, 1959).

Of course not all research of the first half of the century subscribe to the allegedly detrimental effects of bilingualism by the process of "language interference" and the like. In fact, there have been quite a few studies showing the positive impact of bilingualism on intelligence, language development, and cognitive flexibility. Among them, the experimental work of Davies & Hughes, 1927; Darsie, 1926; Hill, 1936; Spoerl, 1944. Furthermore, concerning the bilingual educational programs during the early years of the century in the Canadian context, a strong voice of support to bilingualism was that of C. Sissons (1917):

> Quite apart from the utilitarian advantage of knowing another modern language, educationalists are agreed that the study of a second language is most valuable in aiding intellectual development and as factor making for accuracy and grace in the use of the native speech. Just as a travel tends to sharpen the powers of observation and broaden the outlook, so the study of a foreign language, if properly conducted, serves to quicken the intellect and to react on one's control over the mother tongue. It is a universal law that all things are understood only by comparison (p.209).

The preceding paragraph from a Canadian educator as far back as 1917 best epitomizes not only the general consensus among scholars about bilingualism but also the route that Canada as a democratic and pluralistic nation should take. Even more so,

when, as is the case of Canada/Quebec's numerous ethnic groups, the second and/or the third language to be learned can hardly be considered "foreign" - be that the language(s) of the land or the ethnic language.

One may go on and on enumerating, reviewing and citing research after research, theoretical analysis after analysis supporting in various ways and degrees bilingualism and properly implemented bilingual schooling. For the most part, the literature from the 1960's on, not only discredited and repudiated previous arguments on the detrimental effects of bilingualism, it has also, ever since, presented solid empirical evidence on the positive impact of bilingualism along a wide range of variables. As expected, in the Canadian context (where many ethnic groups have traditionally settled) the whole issue of bilingualism and bilingual programs in education have been considered in conjunction and with direct references to language/culture maintenance.

Although no one may claim that this whole issue has been settled once and for all across Canada (could it be?), the fact of the matter is that, at both the Federal and the Provincial levels, language/culture maintenance is accepted, sanctioned, supported, and promoted (cynics and pragmatists would say, yes, but more in theory than in practice). The official Canadian policy of Multiculturalism (from October 1971) and the financial and moral support of successive Quebec governments have been well-documented across different ethnic communities. The arguments for sustaining and, in fact, strengthening the educational arrangements for teaching the mother tongue and cherish of their culture (ethnic groups) are strong. And all this, despite reservations - even objections - on the part of a number of individuals.

Among many others, Jim Cummins - a world renowned authority on the subject - has this to say: "In conclusion, there is considerable evidence that the development of bilingualism and biliteracy can enhance rather than impede the educational and personal development of minority-language children" (Cummins, 1980: 26). He goes on arguing that those who oppose the promotion of minority language learning - at home and/or in school - have been greatly influenced by misconceptions regarding the effects of bilingualism.

In addition, the significant notion of "transfer of learning" that may occur in the process of learning a second and/or third language should not escape the attention of parents, of educators, of policy-makers and the politicians at large. This is, in fact, a particularly relevant and useful concept in our case, in Quebec, where trilingual education is in "full gear" among several ethnic/cultural communities.

No doubt, as has been suggested by many scholars in the field, one may extrapolate and attempt to draw analogies and postulates concerning trilingualism and trilingual education based on the findings and the evidence on bilingualism. However unfortunate this may be, since research on trilingualism is virtually non-existent, it is nevertheless a legitimate and useful exercise. In the final analysis it would be, in fact, rather inappropriate and unsound to restrict the positive effects of learning more than one language, to the second language learning and not to encompass within the same scheme the learning of a third language - proceding of course with the utmost care and recalling at the same time that all three languages taught at school are much more than what may be called "foreign languages".

It is in that perspective and within this frame of reference that the "case" of Greek day education in Quebec should be considered in the 1980's. It is also along these lines that one should be open and realistic in rethinking, re-examining and even re-making his policy by carefully analyzing the past, evaluating the present, and looking ahead to the future. This also sets the stage for the next section of this present discussion by incorporating everything that we know as of today about trilingual schooling in the Greek community of Montreal to the attitudes, hopes, and legitimate demands of Montreal's Greeks in the 1980's.

IV. 1984 TIME FOR A GREEK DAY HIGH SCHOOL IN QUEBEC

Having said all that about bilingualism, bilingual education, language and culture maintenance programs and the overall positive outcomes of "Socrate" and "Démosthène", one should not be left with the impression that everything runs smoothly and with no problems whatsoever. There are indeed many and multifaceted problematic situations, drawbacks, mistakes, and at times, negative consequences stemming from such educational arrangements. As far as one can tell, neither "Socrate" nor "Démosthène" may (should) exclude themselves from a series of imperfections or shortcomings that are rather common to most educational institutions - let alone institutions of the special nature that "Socrate" and "Démosthène" are.

The fact of the matter is, however, that the overall positive characteristics, consequences, and contributions of the Greek day schooling in Montreal seem to outweigh and outlast whatever negative (alleged or real) aspect is associated with these schools. And no one, as far as one can safely say up to the present day, has come out to promote and support a different position concerning both schools in the Greek community of Montreal. To the contrary, as we saw in the previous section of this paper, not only Greek origin people but non-Greeks as well have repeatedly and emphatically stressed the educational, pedagogical, social and cultural significance/contribution of the Greek day schools.

Thus, before venturing to the realities and the aspirations of the 1984's, let us for a moment recapitulate and summarize the principal points discussed so far. In this fashion the groundwork

may be laid for the next part of our analysis and our arguments may sound more reasonable and stronger having a strong/solid base.

A rather exhaustive list of all these points will, briefly, read as follows:

1. Greek day education, in one form or another, has a relatively long history in Montreal, in Quebec;

2. We may distinguish two large stages or eras when discussing Greek day schooling: from 1910 to 1970, and from 1971-present with the establishment of a publicly funded trilingual program;

3. The number of Greek origin children entering trilingual schooling in and around Montreal has been on the rise from year to year after the "transformation" of the 1970's;

4. In 1982 one more Greek day school was established along the lines of a trilingual school in Quebec with an ever increasing number of pupils in its grades;

5. From the early 1970's on successive Quebec governments have morally and financially supported the Greek day schools in the province;

6. Research and empirical evidence on "how the Greek day schools are doing" are next to nothing. Anecdotal and oral accounts, however, personal experiences and observations, public statements of school related people and politicians, all seem to suggest that the overall outcomes of "Socrate" and "Démosthène" are encouraging and positive.

7. Limited research and analyses of other (similar) educational experiences in Quebec (Jewish, Armenians) indicate that trilingualism works at its best;

8. For the largest part, contemporary literature on bilingualism, bilingual programs, and

language/culture maintenance projects stresses the positive impact and effect that these types of educational "alternatives" have;

9. The prevailing ideology (which no doubt bears very practical consequences for the individuals concerned) among the members of the Greek community in Montreal is that the Greek day schools are not only good institutions of knowledge and training in three languages, - so essential in our days - they are also places of "producing good and sensitive human beings which are attached to and proud of their Greek descent".

10. Both levels of government (Federal, Provincial) time and again have committed themselves to sustain and promote cultural pluralism through various means and programs. Documentation of that thesis may be found in virtually all official Reports, Papers, Monographs, and the like, put out by both the Quebec and the Canadian governments. The Greek day schools in Montreal are, in fact, very often mentioned in that respect.

With all this apparently useful and relevant information at hand, with all the experiences of the past and a realistic appraisal of the present, with reasonable aspirations and believing in the future, the first step toward the creation of a Greek day high school in Montreal was made in 1980. The need and the necessity to extend the trilingual schooling well beyond the primary level led a group of interested parents ("Socrate" parents) to make "the first concrete move" (discussions on the need to establish a Greek day high school in Montreal have been in the "air" for years):

> On May 9, 1980, a group of parents whose children were attending grade six at "Socrate" school took the initiative and asked the Board of Directors **(Koinotita)** to set up a special school committee. This committee was to examine all aspects pertaining to the establishment of a special class

for the graduates of "Socrate" where Greek language/culture of high school level is taught.

On June 16, 1980, the **Koinotita** administration approved such a proposal and the high school ("ARISTOTELIS") has been in operation ever since. It functions as of today as a Greek Saturday school teaching Greek language and culture having obtained the approval (authorization) of the Greek State. It accepts only graduates from "Socrate" all these years expecting and waiting "its transformation" to a full-fledged trilingual secondary school, a kind of natural and necessary extension of "Socrate". To that effect the Hellenic Community of Montreal has already submitted the required application with all supporting documents to the Quebec officials asking governmental approval/financing for the trilingual "Gymnasium Aristotelis".

In addition, as has become known among various community circles, the Greek-Orthodox Community of Laval has also applied to the Quebec government asking for approval and funding so that a Greek day high school in Laval will be established. It is certain that the two applications have been prepared and submitted separately and independently of each other while both **Koinotites** and the Greek population in and around Montreal are anxiously awaiting the official governmental response.

V. THE RESULTS OF A SMALL-SCALE SURVEY CONCERNING A GREEK DAY HIGH SCHOOL FOR MONTREAL'S GREEKS

So far, our discussion has been a rather worthwhile theoretical exercise. In the process of locating, compiling and synthesizing existing evidence (exclusively from secondary sources and often sketchy and unsystematically gathered) we have been led to the 1980's and the "riping" of the time for the establishment of Greek trilingual high school. It would be, indeed, both interesting and useful if we could present some, however statistically significant or not, empirical evidence. Some concrete evidence about Greek trilingual high school in Montreal based directly on "primary sources".

Thus, while awaiting the official reaction and the final response/decision concerning governmental funding of Greek trilingual high school in Montreal, and before concluding this exploratory analysis by presenting our arguments for that school in the 1980's, let us carefully review the results of a small-scale survey.

This survey was conducted during the month of November, 1984. It aimed at highlighting the general attitudes and the feelings of the Greek population in and around Montreal regarding the establishment and the operation of such a trilingual institution in the community. As will become apparent, the questions included were formulated in such a way as to elicit responses about the educational and socio-cultural value of a Greek trilingual high school in the community at large.

Sample

A total of 276 Greek names were randomly selected from a Greek Telephone Directory published in Montreal in 1983. Of these names, 156 were Greek families residing in various areas across the city of Montreal and the neighboring municipalities (Laval, West Island, Ville St. Laurent, Lasalle, D.D.O., Outremont, etc.), in areas which for the purpose of this study were collectively called "NON-ENCLAVE". The other, 120 names were Greek families residing within the geographical limits (approximately) along the traditional "Greek neighborhoods" of Park Avenue and Park Extension and they consisted the "ENCLAVE" sub-group of this study.

In attempting to reach these households by telephone (principally during the morning hours) and ask the man or the woman in the house to participate in the study, a large number of these 276 names were not included in the final sample due to:

1.	No answer even when called two and three different times at different hours of the day	56
2.	No Greek individual in this number	70
3.	Refuse to participate for various reasons	21
4.	No service in this number	8
5.	Greek professional/business in this number	3
	Total	158

Thus 118 Greek origin individuals who agreed to participate and respond to the questions made up the actual sample population of this study. Of these 118 individuals, 65 were "Non-Enclave"

residents whereas the other 53 were "Enclave" residents as described above.

Of those participating (118), 36 or 30.508 % were males, 80 or 67.796 % were females, while in two instances (1.694 %) both the wife and the husband responded to the questions asked during the interview. According to each sub-group of the study, that is "Non-Enclave" and "Enclave", the breakdown of samples according to the sex of each respondent was 22 or 33.846 % males, 42 or 64.615 % females, and 14 or 26.415 % males, 38 or 71.698 % females respectively. In each of the two sub-groups there was one instance (1.538 %) where both spouses participated in the study.

Instrument

An especially constructed questionnaire comprised of a total of 14 individual questions was used as the basis or the skeleton of the interview. Six of the questions were designed to elicit information concerning different aspects of "Socrate" school which are not of direct relevance to the present context and are not considered in this analysis. The remaining (8) questions were designed to elicit information - and perhaps some kind of discussion - with regard to establishing a trilingual high school in the community. Also, personal attitudes, feelings and evaluations of each subject for such a school were to be elicited via the questions used during the interview.

Procedure

All subjects were interviewed by phone with the assistance of

two additional individuals who acted as research assistants during the administration of the interviews. The vast majority of the contacts (interviews) were made during the morning hours (approximately 90 %) so that, whenever possible, the female in each household could be reached and interviewed. This was a deliberate choice based on the assumption that the mother seems to be the most involved parent with the child's education as far as the Greek community is concerned.

The interviewer started each individual interview by explaining the scope of the study, what was the object and the people involved in this study, while at the same time trying to sort of prepare the subject for responding. The interviewer had been given specific instructions so that the questions of the questionnaire would be used, more or less, as the skeleton and the stimulus for a "friendly discussion" with each subject. It had also been conveyed to the research assistants to allow participants to talk freely and uninterrupted on issues deemed important from their standpoint. The interviewers were to lead "politely" the discussion around the issues covering the questions of the questionnaire. Each interview lasted an average of 10 to 12 minutes.

Results

First of all there were 21 households which, for a number of reasons, refused to participate in this study. Of these 21 contacted, 16 or 76.190 % were "Non-Enclave" with only 5 or 23.809 % being "Enclave". More so, 6 or 28.571 % of those refusing were males while the number of females reached 15 or 71.428 %.

In responding to **Question No. 14:** Do you have children? What is their age?, responses were as follows:

	Non-Enclave (N.65)	Enclave (53)
Mean number of children	2.015	1.773
Mean years of age (children)	14.904	15.095

A further breakdown according to age group revealed (a breakdown that is, no doubt, very useful for educational considerations):

Age Group	0 - 6	7 - 12	13 - 18	18 - Over
Non-Enclave	22 (16.739 %)	27 (20.610 %)	38 (29.007 %)	44 (33.587 %)
Enclave	23 (24.468 %)	18 (19.148 %)	23 (24.468 %)	30 (31.914 %)

It would seem to be a worthwhile exercise to go into all kinds of analyses and details about each age group and consider the relevance of those sub-groups for educational policies and planning. It is left, however, to the interested reader to perform this sort of exercise due to space limitations in the present context. It may be noted, however, that almost two thirds of Greek origin children in and around Montreal are 18 years old or less. And that, interestingly enough, Greek families with more children seem to have moved outside the traditional Greek enclave.

Question No. 13:

The year in which you came to Canada...

Of all 118 subjects, 5 or 4.237 % were born in Canada and another 2 or 1.694 % refused to answer. The rest, III, came to Canada:

1950 - 1960	34 (30.630 %)
1961 - 1970	44 (39.639 %)
1971 - 1980	30 (27.027 %)
1981 - present	3 (2.702 %)
Total	III (100.000 %)

It should be mentioned the fact that the 5 participants who were born in Canada and the other 2 who refused to answer all came from the "Non-Enclave" sub-group. Thus the number of arrivals to Canada were only 58 for the "Non-Enclave" and all 53 of the "Enclave".

	Non-Enclave	Enclave
Total number of years in Canada, Mean:	20.224	15.377
Year of arrival to Canada		
1950 - 1960	23 (39.655 %)	11 (20.754 %)
1961 - 1970	25 (43.103 %)	19 (35.849 %)
1971 - 1980	10 (17.241 %)	20 (37.735 %)
1981 - present	00 -------	03 (5.660 %)

Question No. 12:

Do you believe that if such a trilingual high school is to be established in the Greek community, should it be one such school (separate) in each district/area where Greeks live, that is by each **Koinotita** separately, or should this happen, there should be one common trilingual high school which will be administered by the entire Greek community and serve the community as a whole, operating school branches (locals) in any district where Greeks live and there is a need for such schooling?

	Common School for All	Do not Know/ No Opinion	Separate Schools
Non-Enclave	49 (75.384 %)	16 (24.615 %)	000
Enclave	36 (67.924 %)	15 (28.302 %)	2 (3.773 %)
Total	85 (72.033 %)	31 (26.271 %)	2 (1.694 %)

It becomes evident from the above obtained responses that the vast majority of the Greek community wishes to see a common trilingual high school to serve the needs of its children. One should also take notice of the fact that almost one third of the participants had no opinion (for various reasons) on an issue which appears to be of tremendous importance. In addition, it is equally important to pay particular attention to the fact that only a very small fraction of all 118 subjects (1.694 %) opted for separate high schools in the community at large.

Question No. 10

If you had to choose between a public (francophone or anglophone) high school and a Greek trilingual one (French-Greek-English), which one would you prefer for your own child's education?

	Non-Enclave	Enclave	Total (118)
Greek trilingual	50 (76.923 %)	41 (77.358 %)	91 (77.118 %)
Neither one or the other	2 (3.076 %)	1 (1.886 %)	3 (2.542 %)
No opinion/ Do not know	5 (7.692 %)	5 (9.433 %)	10 (8.474 %)
Public (Franc./ Anglo.)	5 (7.692 %)	6 (11.320 %)	11 (9.322 %)
It is up to my child	3 (4.615 %)	00 000	3 (2.542 %)

Thus, of the entire sample, the Greek trilingual school was the choice by more than two thirds of the respondents. It is of interest to see that despite other differences (illustrated previously in questions/responses) between the two sub-groups, their overall preference for their children's education are, indeed very similar (76.923 % vs 77.358 %). We may notice, perhaps, that only 2.542 % of all participants said that the choice is left to the child, and that no such attitude was expressed by the individuals of the "Enclave" group. One may be tempted to infer that attitudes in the "Non-Enclave" areas have been somewhat changed from the traditionally "Greek-style" of having the parents deciding for their children's schooling. Perhaps...

Question No. 9

Do you think that Greek children who will attend such a trilingual high school will face adjustment problems and difficulties in relation to their environment (here)?

	Non-Enclave	Enclave	Total (118)
Depends on the child	3 (4.615 %)	5 (9.433 %)	8 (6.779 %)
Yes, they will	4 (6.153 %)	3 (5.660 %)	7 (5.932 %)
The same as other kids	2 (3.076 %)	1 (1.886 %)	3 (2.542 %)
Not at all	22 (33.846 %)	17 (32.075 %)	39 (33.050 %)
Maybe yes, maybe not	14 (21.538 %)	6 (11.320 %)	20 (16.949 %)
Do not think so	7 (10.769 %)	5 (9.433 %)	12 (10.169 %)
No opinion/ Do not know	13 (20.000 %)	16 (30.188 %)	29 (24.579 %)

According to this survey only a small percentage of the Greek community (5.932 %) feels that children attending a trilingual Greek (administered) high school will face adjustment difficulties in the host society. On the other hand, it seems that the two sub-groups have responded, to a large extent, along the same lines. The only exception being a "not being certain" about the outcomes. That is, if both categories of responses (Maybe yes, maybe not/Do not think so) were to be combined, one may notice that the "uncertainty" is considerably higher among the subjects of the "Non-Enclave" group (32.307 % vs 20.753 % of the "Enclave").

Question No. 8

Do you believe that the government of Quebec should provide the necessary (needed) funds every year from the taxpayers money for the establishment/operation of such a trilingual high school for the Greek community?

	Non-Enclave	Enclave	Total (118)
Yes, definitely so	55 (84.615 %)	39 (73.584 %)	94 (79.661 %)
Do not know	7 (10.769 %)	12 (22.641 %)	19 (16.101 %)
No	2 (3.076 %)	2 (3.773 %)	4 (3.389 %)
Only in part	1 (1.538 %)	00 000	1 (0.847 %)

As can be seen from the responses to that question, four in five Greeks in and around Montreal believe that their provincial government (whichever government that may be) should use public money to fund the establishment and the operation of a Greek trilingual high school. The support is, indeed, overwhelming in that respect. More "vocal" on this issue appear to be the "Non-Enclave" Greeks (84.615 %), despite the fact that they have moved outside the "Greek neighborhoods" from where most of Greek children (high school age) come.

It is of interest to consider for a moment the fact that a total of 22.641 % of the "Enclave" group said that they don't know whether or not the government should provide the funds. From comments and indirect inferences on the part of the research assistants of this study, it appears that this group may be somewhat "reluctant" to offer a specific and definite response concerning governments and their "behavior/policies". Another

indication, perhaps, that Greeks residing outside the enclave are more in tune to the "indigenous attitudes and behavior". That is, every citizen has the legitimate right to demand government action for his tax dollars.

Question No. 7

Do you think that there is today a need for establishing a Greek day trilingual high school in the Greek community of Montreal - along the same lines as "Socrate" and "Demosthene"?

	Non-Enclave	Enclave	Total (118)
Yes, definitely so	53 (81.538 %)	44 (83.018 %)	97 (82.203 %)
Do not know	5 (7.692 %)	4 (7.547 %)	9 (7.627 %)
No definitely not	3 (4.615 %)	5 (9.433 %)	8 (6.779 %)
Maybe, perhaps	4 (6.153 %)	00 000	4 (3.389 %)

Coming to the very basic and fundamental question of the 1980's as far as Greek day education in Montreal is concerned, Greeks themselves overwhelmingly support and express their need (that there is a need in the community at large) for establishing a trilingual high school. More than four in five individuals of the Greek community in Montreal feel that there is today a need for a new educational arrangement in the form of a trilingual high school where Greek children could be taught French, Greek and

English.

The affirmative response to this question appears to cross residential patterns of Greek families. Regardless of particular area of residence today, they strongly support the establishment of a Greek day high school. The total population (according to the results of this study) that sees no need for such an institution in the 1984 does not even reach the 7 % point of the entire Greek community.

Question No. 11

This question was left to be discussed at the end of this section on the results of the study since it was a kind of "secondary and explanatory" question to the previous one (Question No. 10). Thus, question No. 11 which reads: "Why?", that is, why would you send your child to one or the other school described in question No. 10, has not been "coded" for merely practical reasons.

Some of the most commonly offered explanations or elaborations on that question, however, are reported below:

Choice of trilingual (Greek) high school: So that the child can learn Greek; we are Greeks; for our language and our history; the child would learn more things; would learn three languages at the same time; the child would have more "tools" for his life;

Choice of Francophone/Anglophone: The child will learn better the language of the land we live in.

Discussion

Although it has not been our intent to delve into all, yet useful and important, details revealed through the data collected

during this small-scale survey, we could, however, devote a small section to discussing a few relevant issues. This discussion may be carried out not only within the overall and principal aim of the present paper (the Greek day education in Montreal and the prospect of establishing a trilingual high school). It may also be a small contribution toward the understanding of some general aspects about the Greek community in Montreal.

Thus, all limitations of this survey granted (e.g. sample size, sample selection, limited number of questions) and all possible shortcomings and/or confoundings stemming from such limitations recognized and appreciated, we may proceed with our discussion even in somewhat general terms. The remarks and comments offered in this context, then, ought to be considered as mere exploratory endeavors and be treated with the utmost caution and care - more so if and when generalizations of any kind or degree are in order.

To the degree that the above obtained results may be (or are) indicative of some trends and characteristics of the entire Greek community in and around Montreal, we may argue along the following lines:

It seems that the average number of children per Greek family (regardless of residence) is approximately 2.00-2.10 children if one takes into account the number of respondents who have no family and those who refused to answer this particular question. This figure of, about, 2.05 children per faimly is higher than the national average for Canada which has been recently reported to be 1.70 children per family. Most sources would agree that immigrant groups have traditionally had more children per family than the so-called national average. The results of this study seem to be in agreement with such arguments.

Concerning educational planning and future action for the youth in general, it is quite important to stress the fact that the vast majority of Greek origin children are in the 18 years or less category - more than two thirds of all children in the community. Furthermore, almost half of all children (approximately 50 %) are between those age brackets that one may consider as "high school candidates or goers". In the same context we may as well note that one in every five children in the community at large are between the ages of 7 and 12 which, no doubt, are (ought to be) of particular interest for high school "considerations" of any kind.

On the whole, it seems that the average age of children residing either in the non-enclave or the enclave areas is almost the same (14.904 vs 15.095 for the non-enclave and the enclave groups respectively). The average age of all children of the 118 respondents was 14.984 years. This may be taken as an indication that thousands of Greek origin children are in their most difficult and perhaps critical years of adolescence (although the average or the mean, statistically speaking, may not be the most preferable or accurate analysis in this case).

As many other sources have shown, the majority of Greeks came to Canada between 1950 and 1970 - almost two thirds according to the results of this study. More so, no one would contest the finding that four out of ten Greeks came to Canada during the 1960's and that from the mid-1970's on Greek immigration to Canada has been on the decline - as the respective figures so elloquently demonstrate. From an educational and a policy on schooling perspective it is equally interesting to note that almost one third of all Montreal's Greeks have come to Canada over the period of the last fourteen years. Their family structure-size and the age-educational level of their children today

are indeed quite important variables for community and societal planning/policies on education and schooling arrangements.

Greek families living within the so-called "Non-Enclave" geographical areas have been in Canada much longer than their compatriots living in the "Enclaves". More than four out of five of the "Non-Enclave" group have been here for 15 years and over compared to the approximately 2.5 out of 5 figure of the "Enclave" group. The overall percentage of Greek arrivals to Canada from 1971 on, is almost 43 % for the "Enclave" compared to 17.241 % for the "Non-Enclave".

All this demographic information concerning the Greek family unit and their children in particular is of great importance for any educational consideration and planning - let alone the prospect of establishing a Greek day trilingual high school. For example, one may think twice, for the most appropriate location of a school building, the transportation system to the school, the level of educational institution and the grades offered in a specific local, etc. These demographics in conjunction with the attitudinal evidence vis-a-vis trilingual schooling in the 1980's may be used as guidelines in developing and implementing effecting and realistic educational institutions. So much so for the Greek community leadership itself as for the Quebec society as well.

Moving to the next of the questions addressed by this study and glancing at the cumulative responses obtained, it becomes abundantly clear that the vast majority of Greeks, wherever they reside, want to see united and common ventures among all Greeks. The case in point illustrates this trend. This desire was expressed in the form of high percentage, a total of 72.033 %. It is even more compelling to take particular notice of the fact that the desire for united and common ventures among all Greeks is

strongly endorsed by those who are no longer within the so-called "core Greek community" of the Park Avenue/Park Extension areas (75.384 % compared to 67.924 % of the "Enclave" group). Despite the fact that one out of four had "no opinion" on the issue (something that may well be analyzed and, in fact, explained in terms of the "internal community politics", only two persons out of a total of 118, or less than 2 % of the total population opted for separate trilingual high schools in the Greek community of 1984. This trend presents itself not only as an encouraging, healthy, and indeed, "community oriented" attitude, it "rings" also the bell for everyone listening, in every direction within or even outside the Greek community.

It is rather appropriate at this point to take a minute or two in order to emphasize, once again, that the attitudes, the feelings and the wish of Greek people in and around Montreal are in tune with common and united ventures for the entire Greek origin population. Regardless of praticular place or neighborhood of residence, number of children or number of years in Canada, regardless of sex, educational level or politcal affiliation in Greece or in Canada. The specific issue under discussion within the framework of this present study, namely the Greek day trilingual high school, has not been excluded from such attitudes and feelings.

Furthermore, the continuous and overwhelming support for a trilingual school in the Greek community is shown again when responses to question No. 10 are examined. More than three out of four Greek parents would choose to send their children to that type of schooling. And, again, the support comes with equal strength from both sub-groups of Greek people (76.923 % / 77.358 %) with only one person (almost) out of ten

opting for francophone or anglophone - when the option for the trilingual school becomes available. With regard to this question we may also notice that a percentage of 2.542 % replied "neither one or the other" options provided by the question. This percentage may very well reflect, to a large extent, the number of Greek origin children attending other private secondary schools in and around Montreal.

Number nine (9) is a very important - yet quite confusing - question for all parties involved in trilingual education: children, parents, community, society at large. That is why we think, there is an almost 25 % rate of responses within the "No opinion/Do not know" category, with the "Enclave" group reaching almost one in three individuals in the said response category.

The fact that this question, or rather the content of the question, is not clear and perhaps confusing gets additional support from the "testimonies" and the feedback that the research assistants provided with respect to this very question. It seems that many participants had great difficulties in grasping and understanding "what was meant by adjustment" although every effort was made to elaborate on this issue by the interviewer. That was the case to a larger degree when individuals residing within the "Enclave" area were contacted. One may argue that, perhaps, the phrasing of the question was not that clear; or the issue was not discussed in its proper context; or even, that Greeks do not want to make public - even anonymously - their deep feelings on issues like the one in question No. 9.

Whatever the reason(s) may be, whatever the explanation offered, we strongly believe that "adjustment" is a very complex concept by itself, and an issue especially "delicate" in our times. Even more so, among the Greek population of Montreal as shown

according to our data and analysis in this present context. Again, it is stressed (in fact, it is repeated) that even before any analysis and treatment of the raw data of this survey, our research assistants drew our attention to the "very problematic" nature of this question. Nonetheless, it may be that the time has come for all of us to realize the urgent need of "going out there" and explaining as concretely as possible, what is meant by "adjustment" - with specific references to the Greek community in our case.

In addition, the overall percentage of what may be called the "ambivalent or uncertainty" category, that is, the responses "Maybe yes, maybe not/Do not think so" which form a total of more than 27 %, may well be seen under a similar kind of analysis. In fact, if the "Do not know/No opinion" response is also included in this "uncertainty" category of responding to questions concerning adjustment, then we have a grand total of more than a 50 % rate for the "Enclave" group and a total of almost 42 % for the "Non-Enclave" group. The community as a whole seems to be sending a rather warning message to its leadership and to all its elected representatives (Greek and non-Greeks): Attendance of a trilingual high school assists in the adjustment process of the child - only a little less than 6 % feel that attendance of such a school will pose adjustment problems for children - but the concept of adjustment and its wide in scope implications are not always easily comprehended.

On the whole, one of every three Greeks in and around Montreal believes that graduates from trilingual high schools (Greek) are not going to face any adjustment problems or difficulties. However, only one out of twenty feels that trilingual graduates will face such problems. Both sub-groups of respondents

appear to have the same more or less feelings (percentagewise) on both ends of the continuum. That is, 6.153 % vs 5.660 % in the "Yes, they will" category, and 33.846 % vs 32.075 %, in the "Not at all" category. Is it perhaps appropriate to speak of some kind of "unanimity" among all Greeks when it comes to crucial issues such as the education of their children and the survival of Hellenism outside the Greek geographical borders? Maybe...

Not even the smallest doubt was expressed concerning the downright obligation on the part of the government to fund a Greek day trilingual high school in Montreal. The overwhelming endorsement of the response "Yes, definitely so" with a response rate of almost 80 % leaves no room for "second thoughts" regarding the wish and the demand of the Greek community at large. Only a tiny fraction of the entire group of respondents (a little over 3 %) opted for the "No" answer, a finding that gives even more "force" on what the community actually wants and expects from its elected government in the province.

It may have become evident that the reverse order in examining and discussing the findings of this survey (progressing from question No. 14 to question No. 7) was far from accidental. The first question in the right order (and the last examined here) is the question that has to do with the "yes" or "no" of the community concerning the need for trilingual high school in the year 1985. We think that this is a basic and in every respect fundamental question that should be asked at both the beginning and the end of each pertinent inquiry on the matter. No doubt, the feelings and the belief of the Greek community as a whole on this particular issue is (ought to be) of the utmost importance.

With a grand total response rate of 82.203 % the entire Greek community in and around Montreal has indicated the need

and, at the same time, the legitimate demand for a Greek day trilingual high school. More than four individuals out of five in the community believe in this need and express publicly this demand. Equally vocal and seemingly dedicated to this concern (prospect?) are Greeks all over the community regardless of geographical area of residence, or any other "intra-group" difference that may exist (81.538 % of the "Non-Enclave" vs 83.018 % for the "Enclave"). At this point, one should add that there is concrete evidence indicating that, as may be expected, all parents of the existing Greek day schools are strongly in favor of establishing the trilingual high school in the community at large.

Having thus far reported, and to an extent discussed the findings of this small-scale survey, let us conclude this part of the paper by summarizing the main trends expressed through the responses of 118 Greek origin Montrealers (or Quebecers for a better and more encompassing "name-category"). Stressing the fact, once more, that all possible and probable confoundings of the study granted, the overall message conveyed here should not go unnoticed: neither by Greeks themselves nor by the rest of the society of which Greek origin population forms an integral and contributing part.

Attempting to include in one and only paragraph all the demographic information along with the overall attitudinal standing of the Greek community concerning trilingual secondary education, we have the following picture:

Greeks all around Montreal have families with an average of approximately 2.05 children per family. The average age of these children is around the 15 year mark. Almost half of these children (50 %) are between the age brackets that one may consider as "high school candidates-goers" and more than two

thirds of all are 18 years of less. Almost two thirds of all Greeks have come to Canada between 1950 and 1970, these "early arrivals" making up more than 80 % of the total Greek population residing within the "Non-Enclave" areas. A total percentage of 72 % of all Greeks prefer one common high school for the entire community, with only less than 2 % opting for separate schools. Almost 78 % of all respondents would like to send their children to the trilingual Greek school while only a small percentage of less than 6 % felt that Greek children attending the trilingual high school would have adjustment problems in relation to their total environment. With a grand total response rate of almost 80 % all Greeks agreed and voiced their opinion on the obligation of the Quebec government to use public funds in establishing/operating the trilingual high school - only less than 4 % objecting to such a pan-community demand. As far as whether or not there is a need <u>today</u> in the Greek community of Montreal for a trilingual high school the response came overwhelmingly positive with a total percentage of almost 83 %, all across the community.

As a kind of final exercise - an interesting one, indeed - we may attempt a further description of these findings by "transforming" the rate of responses and the percentages to approximations of actual numbers. Thus, taking into account that most sources seem to agree that 70,000 individuals of Greek descent all around Montreal make up the entire Greek community of Montreal - we will not go into the arguments now regarding the official figure for Greeks in Quebec (49,420) since the 70,000 figure is much closer to reality than the 50,000 (at least, according to our knowledge), we may state that:

1) Approximately [illegible].000 Greek origin individuals would like to see the establishment and the operation of one common trilingual high school for the Greek community at large;
2) Almost 56,000 Greeks would prefer to send their children to such a trilingual high school;
3) A total of 56,000 Quebecers of Greek descent want their provincial government to use the province's treasury in order to finance the establishment/ operation of a Greek day trilingual high school in Montreal;
4) More than 58,000 Greeks all around Montreal strongly believe that there is a real need for a trilingual high school for the Greek origin children in Quebec.

Certainly, the aforementioned rather "trivial transformation" constitutes an interesting exercise for mere illustrative purposes. It should be viewed and treated accordingly. No more, no less. Otherwise, we run into problems of "naivity", overgeneralizations and oversimplifications.

VI. SUMMARY, CONCLUSION

We have, indeed, come a long way since we started this cursive analysis on the past, the present, and looking at the future of Greek day education in Montreal. No doubt, our discussion through the historical traces of Greek day schooling in Montreal has paved the way for describing the present state of affairs. This, in turn, has provided the stimulus for searching the future route to be following in that respect. The systematic, serious and most objective (as objective as possible under the circumstances and the continuous influences of personal and collective biases) consideration has led to the trilingual high school prospect.

In short, we have seen that Greek day education in Montreal has a real history of its own as far as primary education is concerned. A grand total of 2,000 Greek origin children attend the day schools "Socrate" and "Démosthène", schools which are equally (if not better) well organized and administered as the other private schools in the province. Graduating from these Greek community schools means functional trilingualism along with high academic achievement and a healthy, well-developed personality and character.

Parental participation, so essential for the educational process and progress of every child, is continuous and on a permanent basis at all Greek day schools. The schools as institutions of learning in particular, and as socio-cultural institutions in general, are really community oriented collectivities being assisted and accountable at the same time to the entire Greek community. As has been testified by a great number of people quality of education is the order of the day at both schools. In addition,

there is no doubt concerning maintenance and strengthening of cultural attachments and identities, so much cherished and supported by all Quebec political spectra.

The vast majority of present day research on bilingualism and bilingual education has argued in support of the positive impact of learning two languages. The important notion of "language/learning transfer" that has been observed among bilingual and even trilingual individuals gets more and more support by the scholars in the fields of education, psychology, linguistics, and sociology.

Successive Quebec governments have shown their moral and financial support for trilingual schooling across different ethno-cultural communities in the province (for example, the case of the Jewish, the Armenian, and the Greek communities). In fact, virtually all official documents published by or through the Quebec government not only devote a special section on trilingual schooling in the province, they speak for these schools with pride and joy, as well.

The entire Greek community in and around Montreal appears to be more than satisfied with the overall functioning and the educational-cultural standing of the schools. The number of Greek origin children attending either "Socrate" or "Démosthène" has been on the increase. The so-called "experiment" that started back in the early 1970's with the transformation of "Socrate" to a truly trilingual school seems to have been a successful educational and cultural project. The 1980's have presented the challenge and the need for extending day trilingual schooling within the Greek community. The prospect or the "natural evolution of things" lie in front of us in the form of a truly trilingual high school to serve the needs not only of the Greek community in Montreal, but

to serve also the needs of the Quebec society of the 1980's.

To that effect, the findings of the survey reported here reveal in the most elloquent way the attitudes, the desires, the wishes, and more so, the demands of a large segment of the Quebec society. Overwhelmingly, the Greek community of Montreal has wholeheartedly endorsed the urgent need for establishing a trilingual high school. The community has also indicated with an ample majority of its members that such an educational institution would be greatly supported by all Greek origin people irrespective of, minor or even large, intra-group differences. The point has been also made on the part of the community concerning the funding of this institution. As full-fledged members of the Quebec society and as equal partners in the public purse, Greek origin Quebecers present their legitimate demand. A demand not for any special treatment but for equal treatment and, in fact, within the overall spirit so often advocated by the government itself:

> On doit déplorer le peu de soutien offert jusqu'à maintenant par le Gouvernement québécois aux efforts de nos compatriotes de différentes origines ethniques pour conserver leur langue et leur culture d'origine. (Gouvernement du Québec[1], 1977: 26).

> Thus it becomes evident that Quebec is increasingly confident about its own cultural survival and no longer feels compelled to isolate itself in its past history as a means of self protection. The social and cultural dialogue between Quebec's majority and its various minorities has now progressed to the point where it has become an everyday fact of life. This fact is a sure sign of cultural maturity (Gouvernement du Québec[6], 1981: 29).

> It should be possible to make suitable choices, if attention is given to the needs and wishes of local communities, particularly when the map of the schools

is being drawn up or revised (Gouvernement du Quebec[7], 1982: 58).

Η εκμάθηση μιας γλώσσας διαφορετικής από την μητρική αποτελεί σε όλες τις κοινωνίες σημαντικό πλουτισμό γνώσεων για τα άτομα. Κανένας δεν διανοείται να θεωρήσει την εκμάθηση αυτή σαν μια απειλή για την εθνική γλώσσα. Μπορούμε να διαβεβαιώσουμε ότι το εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα κάθε σύγχρονου κράτους πρέπει να παρέχει στους πολίτες την δυνατότητα να αποκτούν μια καλή γνώση δεύτερης, αν όχι και τρίτης γλώσσας.....
(Gouvernement du Québec[2], 1977: 42).

...Attendu que les parents ont le droit de choisir les institutions qui, selon leur conviction, assurent le mieux le respect des droits de leurs enfants...
(Loi du Ministère de l'Education
S.R.Q., 1964, cap. 233, préambule, 3e paragraphe).

Ce faisant, l'Etat québécois manifeste son souce d'observer la règle de la Charte des croits et libertés de la personne, selon laquelle "les personnes appartenant à des minorités ethniques ont le droit de maintenir at de faire progresser leur propre vie culturelle avec les autres membres de leur groupe" (article 43)
Gouvernement du Québec , 1979: 19).

...Whereas the Assemblée Nationale du Québec intents in this pursuit to deal fairly and openly with the ethnic minorities, whose valuable contribution to the development of Quebec it readily recognizes; ...(Gouvernement du Québec, Charter of the French Language, 1977, p.C-II/I).

It is in the interest of those communities, as well as of Quebec, that they assert and develop that part of themselves which is essential to their heritage. The Quebec government undertakes to put at their disposal the community facilities and cultural instruments with which they will be able to develop their heritage on their own. Those variouscommunities enrich Quebec, and Quebec offers them the ideal surroundings in which to live and grow according to their aspirations. (Gouvernement du Québec[4], 1979: 29).

Στα πλαίσια αυτής της σύμπτωσης των πολιτιστικών καταβολών και παραδόσεων, κάθε μια από τις πολιτιστικές κοινότητες θα πρέπει να σκοπεύσει μια ανάπτυξη και ά νθιση της σύμφωνη με την ιδιαίτερη της ταυτότητα και τις ιδιαίτερες προσδοκίες της(Ομιλία C. Laurin,Συνέδριο 3 Νοέμβρη 1979 στο Μόντρεαλ[3]).

The Parents of a pupil, and pupils of full age, have a right to choose the school best suited to their preferences, or having the educational scheme best suited to their personal values (Gouvernement du Québec[7], 1982: 9).

Not only are we going to assure to the members of the different ethinic minorities the recognition and the enjoyment of the same fundamental rights that are granted to other Quebecers, but we are also going to make sure that they can maintain and retain their own cultural characteristics, including, insofar as is possible, their own language[1]. (C. Laurin, 1977).

In short, the Greek community of Montreal having largely in its mind to offer quality education to the Greek origin children in Montreal;

Having the desire, the experience and the will to survive as an ethno-cultural group within the larger Quebec society;

Aiming at equipping its youth with functional trilingualism so essential for today's and tomorrow's world;

Pursuing the development of well-adjusted individuals, responsible citizens of ethos and character;

Working consistently towards integrating its Greek origin youth into the Quebec society without ever loosing sight of the tremendous significance of ethnic attachments and ethnic identities for its youth;

Acting in good faith and within the overall spirit of cultural democracy so tacitly described in the aforementioned paragraphs from several documents of the government of Quebec;

Submits a collective request to the government of Quebec asking that all required steps be taken for the establishment and continuous operation of a Greek day trilingual high school in Montreal. It is understood that all guidelines, rules, and regulations pertaining to such a project will be fully respected and thoroughly followed.

The Greek community of Montreal asks for this community oriented institution which will become the "natural" schooling extension for the graduates of primary Greek day schools:

> LA CONTINUITE. L'école secondaire poursuit le développement intégral des élèves sur les plans intellectuel, affectif, physique, social, moral et religieux déjà commencé à l'école primaire. Elle permet aussi aux élèves d'ebaucher des plans pour leur avenir. (Gouvernement du Québec[5], 1979: 144).

Greek parents and the Greek community as a whole voice their great concern about "Socrate" and "Demosthene" graduates who in the pursuit for secondary education will find themselves in a totally different, impersonal, and at times hostile environment so commonly reported to be the case among high schools. These graduates, as all other children undergoing this critical "transition", not only from one school environment to another with a totally different structure and culture, but also the universal transition from childhood to puberty, are bound to adjust and progress better in a high school that is the "extension" of their primary schooling. In fact, this concern has been voiced by many other parents in the province who have been trying to keep their children close to them during the critical and formative years of "childhood-to-adolescence" period. For example,

> Graduating students from Ecole Willowdale aren't spending their mornings travelling across town this year, thanks to the parents and staff of this French elementary school in Pierrefonds.
> Instead, Mme Therese Massinon's Grade 6 pupils are attending their first year of high school in their present elementary school, and that suits them just fine...
>
> "This fills a real need on the West Island", says Marc Arnold, chairman of the Willowdale school committee. "Our kids are 12-13 years old when they enter Grade 7. It's too much to ask of them to travel into the city alone each day. (**P.S.B.G.M. Communique**, vol. 7, no. 1, Fall, 1984).

In a similar vein of argument and concern parents in the St. Leonard area have been fighting to "protect" their youngsters during the transitory period from primary to secondary schools:

> Many parents believe the transitional school gives children time to adjust to entering the 1,500-student comprehensive high school. And they are supported by a minority of board members... They (parents) don't want Grade 7 students attending the large high school and they want Jerome Le Royer to find a new transitional school. "It is not true that these children are ready to enter (the high school)", parent Bernice Dubord told commissioners at last week's meeting.
> "Go see them work, see them play in the school yard. I assure you they're not adults. They're not mature enough (to go to the large high school)"...
> Said Anjou commissioner Gilles Caron, who supports the parents: "It's always possible to integrate (the Grade 7 students into the comprehensive), however, it's not desirable". (**The Gazette**, Dec. 5, 1984).

Thus, the concern and the ensuing request for a trilingual high school for the educational-cultural needs of Greek origin youth all over Montreal are part, one may say, of the larger parental and community concern expressed by the Quebec society in the 1980's.

Without going into elaborate details on this same subject, it is appropriate to make reference to the many and multifaceted criticisms levelled against the huge, impersonal, even bureaucratic institutions that most comprehensive high schools have become. That has been, in fact, the opinion of the Quebec Ministry of Education as well:

> ...The situation is probably more prelevant in secondary schools where the size and the very operating structures make it more difficult for parents and staff to have truly effective sustained relationships. Complex time-tables, instruction by specialists, the electives system; all these do much to create an environment that is quite different from the one the parents were used to at the primary level...
>
> This problem is particularly common to the enormous comprehensive secondary schools where anonymity, fragmentation and regimentation are too often the order of the day and where the school has little rapport with the needs of family and local community life. Even though this situation has sometimes been dictated by the standards of the ministere de l'Education, the fact remains that some secondary schools have too many students. (Gouvernement du Quebec[7], 1982: 20-21).

To all these legitimate concerns of Quebec parents, educators, politicians in general, and the Greek community in particular, in concluding, one should stress and emphasize the fact that: the so much desired and cherished healthy integration of minorities into the Quebec society is a continuous and dynamic process; not a static and unidirectional state to be achieved at any cost. As many scholars in the field of ethnic relations have repeatedly argued, and as people all over the globe have had the chance to witness, when cultural democracy and pluralism are indeed the

order of the day, healthy and creative integration is constantly and continuously in the making. This process should stem from both, and for the benefit of both "partners" concerned. J. Bhatnagar's (1981) definition of integration illustrates and indirectly supports the legitimate request of the Greek community for a trilingual high school in the year 1984 - which the Quebec society and the Quebec state have already supported by "implication" throughout their public statements:

> Integration implies adjustment on the side of both the immigrant and the host society. If a society admits a number of individuals with different cultural backgrounds, it no longer remains what it was before such admission. Although the immigrant will have to do most of the adjusting, some adjustment on the part of the host society will be required. Only when there is a willingness to do this will that integration be achieved. Integration also requires emotional adjustment and social acceptance of each other, on the part both of the immigrant and of the host society. It implies that the immigrant will integrate his old culture with the new, that the two cultures will be made compatible in his personality. The host society, on its part, will also accept, not only intellectually, but emotionally, the significance of the culture which the immigrant brings to his new land. (p.15).

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GREEK DAY EDUCATION IN AND AROUND MONTREAL: THE CASE FOR A GREEK TRILINGUAL HIGH SCHOOL

***

This rather exploratory report on the Greek day educational arrangements in and around Montreal is by no means an in depth and an all-encompassing analysis of the subject. Nor does it present itself as a strictly "academic masterpiece" within the ethnic relations field. It is, however, the very first report of its kind where the past, the present and the future of Greek day education in Quebec are elaborately discussed.

Along these lines, the report makes a concerted effort to present a case for establishing a Greek day Gymnasio (high school) to serve the educational and socio-cultural needs of Greek origin youngsters. The overall descriptive analysis of all secondary sources concerning Greek day schooling in Quebec is enriched with the presentation of the results of a small-scale survey conducted among Montreal' Greeks.

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